

Message Text

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ORIGIN ACDA-10

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S E C R E T STATE 020504

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL: GUIDANCE FOR SPC

REF: A. USNATO 0432; B. MBFR V 0014

1. WE HAVE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON ANTICIPATED FRG REQUESTS

FOR REVISION OF OUR COMPROMISE (REF A):

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A. WE COULD ACCEPT REVISION OF THE FOURTH SENTENCE AS
FRG REP HAS SUGGESTED, WITH ADDITION OF WORD "DIRECT" BEFORE
"CONNECTION," AS PROPOSED PARA 4 REF B.

B. WE COULD NOT, HOWEVER, ACCEPT LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD
SEEM TO INVOLVE COUNTER-PROPOSAL, AS FRG REP HAS SUGGESTED
FOR MODIFICATION OF FIFTH SENTENCE, FOR REASONS WE HAVE
ALREADY OUTLINED IN BRUSSELS. IF EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL
BECOMES PUBLIC, WE BELIEVE OUR PROPOSED GUIDANCE WOULD
SERVE JUST AS WELL WITH PUBLIC OPINION, BUT WITHOUT THE
ATTENDANT POTENTIAL NEGOTIATING TRAP. TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT
FRG CONCERNS, HOWEVER, WE WOULD BE WILLING TO MODIFY THIS
SENTENCE TO READ: "ACCORDINGLY, THE ALLIES HAVE PROPOSED
A NON-INCREASE COMMITMENT, WHICH COULD COME INTO EFFECT..."

C. ALTHOUGH WE WOULD WELCOME A DEBATE ON DATA, THIS
SHOULD NOT ARISE IN THE CONTEXT OF A FREEZE PROPOSAL, SINCE
THE PRICE OF THIS DEBATE WOULD BE TO ENGAGE IN FREEZE NEGO-
TIATIONS WHICH WE WISH TO AVOID. ALLIES COULD OF COURSE
CRITICIZE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL, IF THE SOVIETS WENT
PUBLIC, BY POINTING OUT THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO NEGOTIATE
A FREEZE BEFORE THE FORCES TO BE FROZEN HAVE BEEN IDENTI-
FIED HENCE THE NEED FOR PRIOR AGREEMENT ON REDUCTIONS.
THE ALLIES HAVE A STRONG AND LOGICALLY SOUND POSITION WHICH
CAN STAND ON ITS OWN. IN OUR OPINION, RAISING THE DATA
ISSUE AS A SPECIAL POINT IN THIS CONTEXT, BY SUGGESTING
A WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE ON EASTERN PROPOSAL WERE THEY TO
BE FORTHCOMING ON THE DATA QUESTION, SUBSTANTIALLY DETRACTS
FROM THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR RESPONSE. WE WOULD HAVE NO
OBJECTION, HOWEVER, IF ALLIES WISHED TO INSERT A GENERAL
REFERENCE TO PRE-CHRISTMAS DOCUMENT AT END OF GUIDANCE,
AS NETHERLANDS REP SUGGESTS PARA 9 REFTEL.

D. WE COULD ACCEPT FRG REP'S TWO WORDING CHANGES.

2. REGARDING THE UK REP'S SUGGESTION THAT NON-INCREASE
PROVISION COME INTO EFFECT AS SOON AS PHASE I AGREEMENT
"HAD BEEN REACHED," WE SEE TWO POTENTIAL PROBLEMS. FIRST,
AT WHAT POINT COULD IT BE SAID THAT AGREEMENT HAD IN FACT
BEEN REACHED? SECOND, IF THE EAST CONCEIVES OF THE FREEZE
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AS A DESIRABLE OBJECTIVE OF ITSELF, IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT
--WERE THE NON-INCREASE AGREEMENT TO GO INTO EFFECT BEFORE
SIGNATURE--THE SOVIETS MIGHT FEEL UNDER LESS PRESSURE TO
WRAP UP THE FINAL PHASE I AGREEMENT.

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